

## MEMO ROUTING SLIP

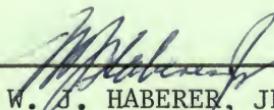
NEVER USE FOR APPROVALS, DISAPPROVALS,  
CONCURRENCES, OR SIMILAR ACTIONS

1 TO	INITIALS	ACTION
Col K. Miller, ISA		CIRCULATE
	DATE 4/20	COORDINATION
		FILE
		INFORMATION
		NOTE AND RETURN
		PER CON- VERSATION
		SEE ME
		SIGNATURE

## REMARKS

1. The overall tenor of this talk is very good. It addresses a complex problem clearly.
2. Recommended corrections have been penciled in.
3. We do not hold casualty figures regarding civilians during 1960 as addressed.
4. A change in wording in the statement concerning ARVN discovery of arms caches as it pertains to VC morale is suggested.

FROM



W. J. HABERER, JR.  
Colonel, USA  
Chief, Eastern Division

DATE

4/20

PHONE

71564

DD

FORM 95  
1 OCT 60

REPLACES PREVIOUS EDITION.

REMARKS OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
CYRUS R. VANCE, AT AMERICAN ORDNANCE ASSN.

4/16/65  
1st DRAFT

ST. LOUIS, MO.

APRIL 27, 1965

To-night I would like to talk to you about South Vietnam.

A.U.S. Objectives

You heard the President speak on April 7. He explained why we are in Vietnam: First, we are there to keep a promise to the people of South Vietnam. The promise of the United States has been made by three successive Presidents -- Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. The promise, starting with President Eisenhower's letter to Vietnamese President Diem in October 1954 and continuing through President Johnson's statement at Johns Hopkins University three weeks ago, have been expressed often, clearly and in constant terms. It would be wrong to break that promise.

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Third, we are there to draw a stop-line to Asian Communist aggression. Since the end of the Second World War, the leaders of what is now North Vietnam have worked to impose a Communist state over all of Vietnam. Their further ambitions extend at least to the remaining parts of former French Indochina -- Laos and Cambodia. Their campaign was accelerated in 1960, about the time that Ho Chi Minh announced at the Third Congress of

the North Vietnamese Communist Party the necessity for North Vietnam "to step up the . . . revolution in the South." And close behind the Hanoi regime, supporting it and spurring it on in pursuit of its goals, are the leaders of Communist China. A Free World withdrawal from the challenge in the jungles and mountains of Vietnam would merely transfer the battle line to other places. How much had to be swallowed up before World War II before we learned that simple lesson?

Finally, we are there on a mission to help South Vietnam -- indeed all of the countries in the area -- to make progress through orderly change. Progress is coming and must come in this changing world. Especially the <sup>people</sup> young quite properly have great aspirations. Old social structures will be immersed in turbulence. It is for us, with our enormous talents and physical resources, to help men everywhere to find the new <sup>course</sup> without sacrificing their freedom.

Our objective in South Vietnam is straightforward and easy to state; it is the independence of South Vietnam and its freedom from attack. The President has made clear that "we will do everything necessary to reach that objective, and we will do only what is absolutely necessary."

B. Military Programs  
There you have our ends and guidelines. Now, coming as I do from the Department of Defense and addressing this particular audience, I think it is appropriate for me to discuss in some detail some issues relating to our military programs in Vietnam.

Specifically, I wish to discuss the motives and implications of two recent aspects of our programs: One, the US and Vietnamese air strikes against selected military targets in North Vietnam; and the other, the deployment of some US combat units to South Vietnam, along with increased

support personnel and with the use of US aircraft in direct combat support within South Vietnam. Why were these steps needed at this time? The President's reluctance to employ them until convinced of their absolute necessity hardly needs explanation. Each of them involves Presidential responsibilities of the highest magnitude -- the hazarding of American lives, and the risk of widening a war.

Then what produced the conviction of their necessity? To understand this, one must understand the nature of the war in South Vietnam.

#### I. Nature of War

It is not another Korean war in which conventional military forces face each other along a battle line. Nor is it another Greece, where local rebellious dissidents used neighboring areas as sanctuary. We must understand that, while some of the people of South Vietnam are supporting the Viet Cong, the war is not a local rebellion.

No What is new and different is that, in Vietnam, the techniques of rebellion have been harnessed by a neighbor set on conquest. It is concealed aggression.

Fundamental to the survival and success of a government -- to its ability to collect taxes, to raise military manpower, to further economic programs, to develop a national spirit of progress -- is its ability to provide physical security for its officials and its citizens. Since the goal of insurgency is to destroy the authority and control of an existing government so as to substitute control by another, the basic step in the Communist technique is to demonstrate the government's inability to provide that physical security.

Beginning in remote, rural areas where the law-enforcement arm of the government is weakest and slowest, there are assassinations and kidnappings. By concentrating on local officials, the terrorists achieve

three purposes at once: They dramatize the inability of the central government to protect its own officials, they destroy the government's presence and contact with the rural population in the areas, and they demonstrate their own ruthlessness and total commitment -- a lesson that is not lost upon those from whom they demand taxes or labor or information or silence.

As the reputation of their deeds spreads, the guerrillas are able to use local agents relatively openly to collect funds for them, to propagandize, to recruit and to inform on officials, programs, opponents and the movement of government troops. Thus a ~~local~~ administrative, political arm of the insurgency evolves, protected from betrayal and supported in its demands by the "strongarm" guerrillas, who are in turn supported and informed by the efforts of these representatives in place. The analogy to a "protection racket" run by organized gangsters in big cities is very strong.

This is the process that the Hanoi regime called into play in South Vietnam. It is the process that may be beginning now in Thailand, where we have recently witnessed the assassinations of rural officials, simultaneously with bland statements in Peking that Thailand is ripe for insurgency.

In South Vietnam the assassinations began in earnest in mid-1957, and grew steadily through 1959. In 1960, Communist terrorists assassinated or kidnapped over 3000 local officials, military personnel and civilians. In 1964, 436 civic officials were murdered -- an average of 36 a month. They died by knives, by pistol shots in their bedrooms in the middle of the night, by sniper's bullets; and in many cases their wives and children were murdered with them. In the same year, 1131 civic officials were kidnapped; and aside from civic officials, 1359 South Vietnamese civilians -- government sympathizers, informers, non-cooperators with the VC -- were assassinated and 8423 civilians were kidnapped or captured.

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selective as ever. In March of this year, 36 civic officials were murdered, 11 of them in the single province of Thua Thien, where the Communists are attempting to eliminate governmental authority.

The rate of terrorism <sup>(3)</sup> rose sharply to its present level between 1963 and 1964, from about 700 incidents a month through most of 1963 to a range between 1500 and 2000 a month in 1964. Figures like these are as hard to comprehend as national budget totals; but what we are talking about, for a single month, is 2000 separate acts of violence -- assassinations, bombings, kidnappings -- against unarmed civilians.

These figures expose starkly the true meaning of the war in South Vietnam.

Provided by North Vietnam with the critical margins of manpower, materiel and direction, the Viet Cong destroy and run, usually at night. They sabotage a railroad bridge, forcing the government to guard them all; they bomb a restaurant, causing all public places to be searched and protected; they assassinate a village chief, overloading the police and making good administrators hard to recruit.

Not only must the government forces tie down troops and police defending the most important people and facilities, but it must have quick reaction forces in regional reserves, if they are to limit the guerrillas to hit-and-run attacks. And, to seek out and destroy an elusive enemy who has no responsibilities to defend territory or people and can choose to evade battle, they must invest massive efforts in searching and encircling operations.

## 2. Forces Required

What forces are required to combat such organized terror? The rule is commonly heard that government forces need a superiority ratio of 10 or 15 to 1 to master the threat posed by guerrilla forces and terrorists. This partly reflects actual experience in countries where insurgencies have been successfully suppressed -- e.g., Malaya. But it follows directly from the nature of the guerrilla challenge I have described to you.

All of this is beyond the reach of a force that outnumbers its opponents only 4 to 1 or less, as the regular and paramilitary forces of South Vietnam do today.

The main force units of the Viet Cong -- their well-trained, well-equipped, full-time regulars in organized combat units -- must now be estimated to number at least 38,500 <sup>⑩ 38,500</sup> <sup>⑪ 47,000</sup>, and quite possibly 50,000 or more; and their irregular forces at 100,000. This force is being increased, by organized infiltration from North Vietnam. Our best estimate is that over 10,000 <sup>⑫ 7,500</sup> infiltrators arrived during 1964 -- commanders, cadre, seasoned guerrillas, technicians, hard core terrorists, logistics and communications experts and personnel <sup>to replace</sup> <sup>⑬</sup> replacing combat attrition. The VC main force <sup>⑭</sup> regiments are equipped 50-80% with externally-supplied weapons. Almost all <sup>⑮</sup> heavy, modern, crew-served weapons -- 81mm mortar, 57mm and 75mm recoilless rifles -- <sup>are</sup> supplied by the Communist Bloc. ✓

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Even more ominous are the reports, and some confirming evidence, that some organized combat units of the North Vietnamese regular army have begun to appear in the northern provinces of South Vietnam.

These guerrilla forces of 150,000 are too much for the present ~~565,000~~ <sup>(17) 561,000</sup> South Vietnamese regular and paramilitary and police forces to handle if they are to provide, as I have indicated they must provide, security for citizens and officials and hamlets throughout the country.

Three conclusions follow: First, it is essential that the manpower balance within South Vietnam be shifted in favor of the government forces. Second, it is essential that the critical flow of personnel, support and direction from North Vietnam be reduced. And third, is a point of principle -- that the enemy cannot be permitted to continue to have the <sup>unfair</sup> advantage implicit in his concealed aggression.

### 3. Manpower Imbalance

We have taken a number of steps to redress the manpower imbalance. An increase of 160,000 South Vietnamese regular and paramilitary forces and police is underway. In this connection, the 10,000 recruits by the regular forces in March -- higher than the goals and two-thirds of them volunteers -- give encouragement. The loss ratios in the first week in

(19) April were 643 Viet Cong killed as compared with 155 Vietnamese. In that same week there were 129 defections of Viet Cong military personnel and 23 political cadre -- significant primarily because of its indication of levels of morale. *Another factor undoubtedly having an adverse effect on morale during* [As another indication of a shift in morale in] March, four large VC arms caches -- one including seven tons of ammunition -- were captured without VC opposition.)

We are finding ways to "stretch" the South Vietnamese manpower -- by giving it better planning, increased mobility, better communications and logistics support, better weapons, and close air support. And we have released some South Vietnamese units for offensive employment by the deployment of US combat units. [Insert latest details re deployments.]

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You will recall that, in addition to the continuous terrorist assaults on things primarily Vietnamese, the United States had absorbed the October attack at Bien Hoa airfield, that we had absorbed the Christmas eve bombing of the Brinks Hotel in Saigon, and that on February 7 the Viet Cong killed 8 and wounded 133 Americans at the Pleiku base in northern Vietnam.

On that February 7, the US and Vietnamese strikes, against North Vietnamese barracks along the infiltration feeder routes, were carried out in less than 20 hours. Since then, there have been more than two dozen strikes on North Vietnamese targets -- radar stations, ammunition and

supply depots, airfields, barracks, roads, railroad lines, bridges, and so on. The targets have been chosen carefully to avoid civilian damage but to reduce the North Vietnamese capability to infiltrate men and material into South Vietnam.

No one believes that the air strikes alone will be sufficient, but along with continued efforts in the South they are essential to a solution. They are essential to cut the flow of supplies. They are essential to convince Hanoi that their efforts in the South cannot succeed -- to prove to them for the first time that their acts of aggression do bring danger to them directly and do carry costs. The strikes give the North for the first time a reason to worry, and a reason to quit. By the same token, they give the Viet Cong in the South a reason to worry that the Northerners will quit, a reason to doubt that the long hardships of the guerrilla life must eventually, with outside support, win out. The strikes confront the Communist Chinese with the new fact that their adventures in the Peninsula are no longer cheap -- their encouragement of the North Vietnamese campaign can involve them in serious risks. All of these effects should grow with time.

#### 5. Unfair "Rules of Conflict"

This brings me to my third point -- the point of principle involved.

Until the South Vietnamese-US air strike of February 7, we had a situation with which we are all familiar in our own personal experience. It is a situation in which the holder of an unfair advantage understandably hates to give it up.

Frustrated because they cannot achieve their ends by open and fair competition, or even by open warfare -- unable to see their way to success in the market place of ideas or even by way of the open battlefield -- Communists they have gone underground; they have chosen the route of stealth, deceit,

sabotage and assassination. They call this route "wars of national liberation."

By casting an ominous military shadow from outside a small nation's borders, by injection of soldiers in disguise, and by massive and secret help and direction to the disgruntled and irresponsible minorities within those borders, the Communists strike at what is at first the weakness, but what ultimately is the strength of nations that would be free. In a nation yet only on the first or second rung of the ladder of freedom, it takes many free men to build what one Communist can destroy. It takes many free men to watch where one Communist might strike. The Communists therefore find themselves in a position of holding the ability to harass and bedevil and bleed and intimidate by night a struggling nation to the edge of exhaustion.

The ~~Y~~ were growing accustomed to this advantage. And this of course ~~have left~~ is the way they would ~~had~~ it. But surely they ~~had~~ <sup>could not have expected their</sup> victims -- their targets -- peoples not of their "religion," to go along with such one-sided rules of conflict!

In Vietnam, as you can tell from our recent actions, we no longer accept the disadvantage which the Communists would impose on us. Together with the South Vietnamese, we will strive, despite harassment, to achieve a peaceful countryside and to build a better future for the population. But at the same time, we will respond outside the borders of South Vietnam as appropriate to stop the external aggression.

#### C. Peaceful Settlement

Is it too much to ask North Vietnam to stop its infiltration of men and materiel; to stop its clandestine direction and encouragement of the insurgency in the South; to order a stop to the Viet Cong campaign of

terror and sabotage in the South; and to remove its controlled units and cadres from the South? It is to help achieve these ends that the air strikes are now being carried out against the North; it is to help achieve these ends that US forces -- military support and combat -- are in South Vietnam. Is there not some way in which the Government of South Vietnam -- absent these intrusions from the North and without the need for massive military assistance from the outside -- can be allowed to find its own way peacefully toward its own consensus and fulfillment?

The people of the United States and of the other nations of the Free World have a dream which is finer than that of the Communists. It is a dream of independence, of fast but orderly change, of as much individual freedom as possible as soon as possible. This is the real goal of all men. We in the Free World are not convinced -- and we do not expect to be convinced -- that it is necessary for the developing nations of the world, in reaching this goal of freedom, to go through an oppressive intermediate stage of Communism.

We want a peaceful solution to the problem in South Vietnam. We want it very much. We seek no territory there. Nor do we wish to destroy North Vietnam or even, little as we like it, its regime. We want only an independent South Vietnam -- as President Johnson said, "securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others, free from outside interference, tied to no alliance, a military base for no other country. ... We remain ready, with these purposes, for unconditional discussions" with the governments concerned.

A whole range of US national interests involved in the independence of South Vietnam can be suggested by the various Communist interests in overthrowing it. To begin with, the rulers of the Communist state of North Vietnam wish to extend their rule to the 14 million people of South Vietnam; and eventually to the 5 million people of Laos and Cambodia. The rulers of Communist China wish to see Thailand outflanked, subjected to the same pressures of subversion, terrorism, infiltration and guerrilla war, and added in turn to the Communist Bloc. They wish the same fate for the neighboring nations of Southeast and South Asia. And they wish, in the interests of increasing their prestige, influence and control in the Communist Bloc and throughout the underdeveloped or vulnerable areas of the world, to demonstrate the invincibility of their tactics of subversive war; to undermine faith in the word, and the resolution, and the power of the United States as a guarantor; to show up the caution of the Soviet Union as craven; to demoralize potential victims and to win the active support of the opportunists. It is a vital national interest of the United States to frustrate each one of these objectives.

REMARKS OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

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three purposes at once: They dramatize the inability of the central government to protect its own officials; they destroy the government's presence and contact with the rural population in the area; and they demonstrate their own ruthlessness and total commitment -- a lesson that is not lost upon those from whom they demand taxes or labor or information or silence.

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selective as ever. In March of this year, 36 civic officials were murdered, ⑦ 11 of them in the single province of Thua Thien, where the Communists are attempting to eliminate governmental authority.

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## 2. Forces Required

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Frustrated because they cannot achieve their ends by open and fair competition, or even by open warfare -- unable to see their way to success in the market place of ideas or even by way of the open battlefield -- Communists ~~they~~ have gone underground; they have chosen the route of stealth, deceit,

sabotage and assassination. They call this route "wars of national liberation."

By casting an ominous military shadow from outside a small nation's borders, by injection of soldiers in disguise, and by massive and secret help and direction to the disgruntled and irresponsible minorities within those borders, the Communists strike at what is at first the weakness, but what ultimately is the strength of nations that would be free. In a nation yet only on the first or second rung of the ladder of freedom, it takes many free men to build what one Communist can destroy. It takes many free men to watch where one Communist might strike. The Communists therefore find themselves in a position of holding the ability to harass and bedevil and bleed and intimidate by night a struggling nation to the edge of exhaustion.

The ~~Y~~ were growing accustomed to this advantage. And this of course ~~have left~~ ~~could not have expected their~~ is the way they would ~~had~~ surely they ~~had~~ victims -- their targets -- people not of their "religion," to go along with such one-sided rules of conflict!

In Vietnam, as you can tell from our recent actions, we no longer accept the disadvantage which the Communists would impose on us. Together with the South Vietnamese, we will strive, despite harassment, to achieve a peaceful countryside and to build a better future for the population. But at the same time, we will respond outside the borders of South Vietnam as appropriate to stop the external aggression.

### C. Peaceful Settlement

Is it too much to ask North Vietnam to stop its infiltration of men and materiel; to stop its clandestine direction and encouragement of the insurgency in the South; to order a stop to the Viet Cong campaign of

terror and sabotage in the South; and to remove its controlled units and cadres from the South? It is to help achieve these ends that the air strikes are now being carried out against the North; it is to help achieve these ends that US forces -- military support and combat -- are in South Vietnam. Is there not some way in which the Government of South Vietnam -- absent these intrusions from the North and without the need for massive military assistance from the outside -- can be allowed to find its own way peacefully toward its own consensus and fulfillment?

The people of the United States and of the other nations of the Free World have a dream which is finer than that of the Communists. It is a dream of independence, of fast but orderly change, of as much individual freedom as possible as soon as possible. This is the real goal of all men. We in the Free World are not convinced -- and we do not expect to be convinced -- that it is necessary for the developing nations of the world, in reaching this goal of freedom, to go through an oppressive intermediate stage of Communism.

We want a peaceful solution to the problem in South Vietnam. We want it very much. We seek no territory there. Nor do we wish to destroy North Vietnam or even, little as we like it, its regime. We want only an independent South Vietnam -- as President Johnson said, "securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others, free from outside interference, tied to no alliance, a military base for no other country. ... We remain ready, with these purposes, for unconditional discussions" with the governments concerned.